[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death ceremonies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place. The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot. Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

[789]

The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is
[766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that
[789] the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before cremation, but that it had no magical power
[766] and was used for profane purposes. The

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

[171] The death-box. The death-box is made either long before death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

[465] There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the preparation of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over
20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The
place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival
178 in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed
[792] with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The [792] relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

765 [647 cont.] foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
784 food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclear,
and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the lama makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

[775] [776]

766 775

22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bön priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

[588]

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies 766 without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 764 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes [212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192 764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin,) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yŭ-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: hărga (xara) rĕdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzañ kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register.

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng.

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she

[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period.

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thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because this case had involved the village and caused a lot of trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204.
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

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765

wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*.

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48] [622]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

766

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

[p 146(B)]

lama says special prayers, drives away the ominous souls, makes *tormas* and a straw manikin, which is pierced with daggers, set on fire, and pulled burning out of the courtyard. The cremation is performed without ceremonies, the woman is carried away in the sedan-chair through a hole pierced in the wall of the courtyard, and the bones are buried in the abode of the evil spirits. The maternal uncle attends the rite; there is no dinner and no Om Mani prayers are said at night. The Mongols of the Ordos do not permit the deceased to be carried through the gate of the courtyard.[49] Neither do the nomads of Siberia.[50]

However, the Monguors prefer to invite at such times a Taoist priest, because his rite seems more efficient. He plants a post in the courtyard on top of which is the flag of the souls, *Hun-fan*. A rope leading from the top of the post is attached to the sedan chair in which the deceased woman has been placed in a squatting position. A rooster's head is cut off, and its blood gathered in a pot. The praying Taoist throws into the blood 360 coins, one after another, which the kneeling husband collects, one after another, each time calling the name of his wife. When the rite is finished the souls are supposed to be saved from the blood lake. Then follows the driving away of the souls, the carrying through the wall, the cremation performed by themselves and the burying of the bones in the abode of the wicked people.

SUICIDES

In Part I: 91 sqq., of this study the difficulties of obtaining permission for the incineration of a person who committed suicide have been described. After the permission has been obtained the shaman drives away the souls and the deceased is carried in the sedan-chair to the crematory. The collected bones are never buried in the family cemetery, but in the abode for ominous people, because it is said that these souls would harm the dead of the family buried next to them, and incite them to help wreak their vengeance.

In such ominous places are buried the bones of unmarried youngsters and adults who hated their family, thieves, murderers, persons who died from plague, people blind in both eyes, lame in both legs, deaf mutes. Every village has one or two places reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They are situated outside the village and after sunset nobody dares to pass through such places. The souls of young women who suffered maltreatment from mothers or sisters-in-law gather in these places to wait for an opportunity to pay off an old grudge; souls of people who suffered injustices wait there to wreak vengeance.

Usually the shaman—very very seldom a Red lama—is invited to drive away and chastise these evil doers.

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[49] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 129.

[50] Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 25.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the custom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

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and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

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INCINERATION OF LAMAS

Lamas of the Yellow Sect are cremated after death. Often lamas of the Red Sect invite those of the Yellow Sect to perform the rite for them, but seldom do lamas of the Yellow Sect invite those of the Red Sect for the same purpose. Lamas are lowered into the crematory oven, while laymen are put into the oven through one of its side openings. Their bones are collected on the third day and spread on the mountain. The bones of the minor Living Buddhas are collected after incineration and put in a *chorten* built for this purpose. The corpses of the Hutukhtus usually are not cremated but are placed in salt, in a squatting, crosslegged position. The dried mummy decked out in its best clothes and a mitre with the five Dhyana Buddha images is enclosed in a chorten. But if they are incinerated, their bones and ashes are pounded and enclosed in a small silver chorten exposed in the temple.

At the death of the Lu chia Living Buddha, the Fa t'ai of the monastery of [illegible]en T'ang was invited to perform the cremation rites. For forty-nine days prayers were said at the lamasery. The tribes subject to the lamasery offered alms, and a delegation of each tribe attended the dinner. The intendancy sent alms to nine of the most important monasteries in order to have them say prayers and to entertain their communities. For forty-nine days the lamas of the lamasery of the deceased living Buddha were not allowed to ride a horse or to leave the monastery.

FUNERAL OF THE SHAMANS

Shamans are always buried in their own fields, in Chinese coffins. The shaman is dressed in his best ceremonial costume, gown, long flowery coat, and the crown of the Wu-tao-shen on his head. His drum, sword, dagger, whip, and staff are put into the coffin and buried with him. Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic signs are pasted on the coffin.

The shamans come from all over the country to perform their rites, along with all the apprentices who studied their art with the deceased. On the first day his courtyard is cleaned, paper flags are hung, and Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic designs are pasted on the doors. At night, in a group, they recite Chinese texts for a long time, using a written book of their own; they beat drums and dance around the coffin, which has been placed in the courtyard. On the second day five tables are superimposed one above the other the chief shaman, in full attire, climbs on the uppermost table and dances on it, in time with the beating of the drums. He swings two paper flags held in his hands, while the other shamans perform the most wild evolutions around the coffin. At night hundreds of lamps are lit in the courtyard and the shamans beat drums, dance, and recite texts.

In the early morning of the third day the coffin is

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carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wú tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos*, **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan*, it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan*.)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 17: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

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